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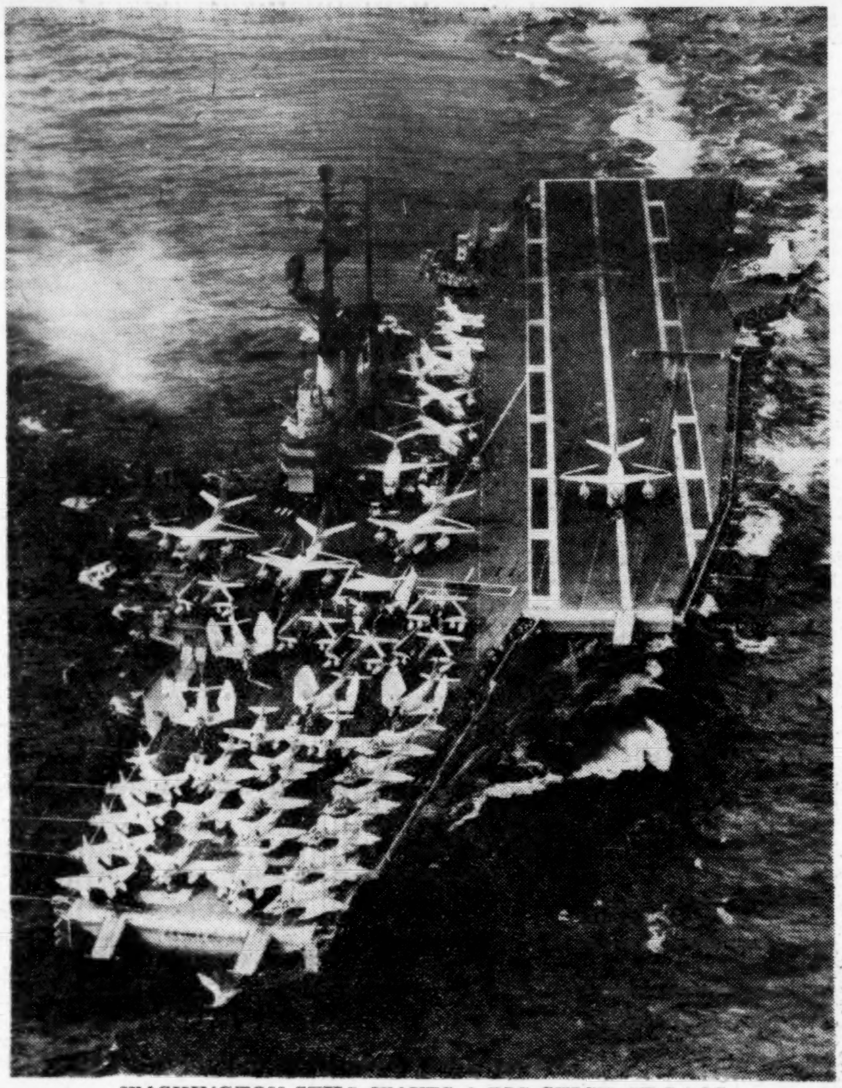

WASHINGTON STILL WAVES A BIG STICK AT LAOS
A carrier plays at war games in the South China Sea

WILL U.S. REPEAT PAST MISTAKES?

Laos crisis eased but U. S. maintains a big show of force

By Kumar Goshal

THE CRISIS in Laos eased somewhat as a cease-fire began on May 3 and truce talks opened two days later. In New Delhi, the India-Canada-Poland Intl. Control Commission, set up in Geneva in 1954, was reactivated and planned to go to Laos soon to supervise the truce.

Premier Nehru appointed Defense Minister Krishna Menon as the Indian representative to the 14-nation (including China) Geneva conference on Laos scheduled to begin May 12. Menon had contributed greatly to the 1954 Geneva conference which ended the Indo-China war.

But the success of the truce talks and the Geneva conference remained uncertain. Basic differences between the legal Souvanna Phouma government and the U.S.-backed Boun Oum regime threatened to stall the truce talks. Washington seemed to have learned nothing from its experiences in Cuba and in Laos itself as the U.S. appeared ready to repeat past mistakes in Southeast Asia on a massive scale.

MAJOR DIFFERENCE: The most important difference between the Phouma government and the Boun Oum regime was over the composition of the Laos delegation to the Geneva conference. Phouma wants the delegation to reflect the composition of the eventual neutral Laotian government, in which his supporters—including the Pathet Lao—would necessarily outnumber representatives of the corrupt, discredited and unpopular Boun Oum group. This is strongly opposed by Boun Oum and his supporters.

This difference will undoubtedly be resolved eventually in favor of Phouma and his supporters because his government, ousted by U.S. intrigue, has continued to be recognized as the legal Laotian government by neutral and socialist countries and the Pathet Lao has recovered more than half of Laos while Boun Oum forces have shown less and less inclination to fight for an unworthy cause. The difficulty posed by U.S. policy will be harder to overcome.

SHOW OF FORCE: The Kennedy Administration seems to have decided against using American troops to gain control over Laos. It is still trying to salvage something in Laos by a show of force nearby—SEATO exercise Pony Express, a mock assault against a "Communist guerrilla army"—in the hope of influencing the outcome of the truce talks. The Administration, however, appears to have decided on U.S. military intervention in South Vietnam and, perhaps, in Thailand, where such intervention could end disastrously for the U.S.

Washington has never been reconciled to the 1954 Geneva agreement declaring Laos and Cambodia neutral and dividing Vietnam at the 17th parallel. The agreement also called for unity through negotiation between the areas controlled by the Pathet Lao and the rest of Laos, and between North and South Vietnam. The U.S. refused to sign the agreement, but consented to refrain from using force to alter the Geneva agreement and soon threw the consent overboard.

UNILATERAL ACTION: The U.S. unilaterally extended SEATO's protective military umbrella over Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam. It has thus far been unable to outmaneuver Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia and failed to

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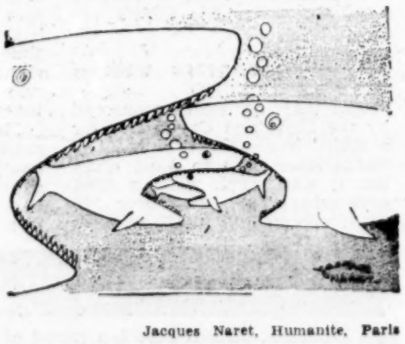

Jacques Naret, Humanite, Paris

'ELECTIONS EVERY DAY,' SAYS CASTRO

14-hour Havana parade marks Cuba's biggest May Day

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

SPEAKING to the greatest May Day multitude in Cuban history, Prime Minister Fidel Castro was thunderously applauded when he said the workers, militiamen and soldiers in the parade were "in the last analysis all one and the same." Yet this "enthusiastic, heroic" people of today were "the same skeptical people of yesterday," completely changed because they now held power in their hands.

He saw "every happy face, every smile full of hope" as "a flower on the graves of the militiamen and soldiers who fell" in the recent counterrevolutionary invasion.

An analysis had been made, he said, of the 1,000-odd prisoners taken in the Cienaga: 800 of them came from families who owned a total of 27,556 caballerias of land, 9,666 houses, 70 industries, ten sugar **centrals**, two banks and five mines. Of the other 200, 135 were former Batista soldiers and police. In his TV discussion with the prisoners, Castro had asked how many of them ever cut a sugarcane, and finally one had raised his hand. The measure of what the two sides represented was, he told the May Day demonstrators, that if we were to ask how many here were ever owners of sugar **centrals**, banks or **latifundia**, there would not be one."

ON ELECTIONS: Some of the prisoners claimed to have come to fight the revolution as democratic "idealists;" but the democracy of the revolution was that "it doesn't have elections every four years but every day" in the form of

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EVIDENCE CONTRADICTS COMMITTEE CHARGES

Acquittal of S.F. student gives lie to Un-Americans

A 23-YEAR-OLD student, Robert Meisenbach, accused by the FBI, San Francisco police and the House Un-American Activities Committee of touching off a "riot" against Committee hearings in San Francisco a year ago, was acquitted of an assault charge May 3.

Meisenbach was the only one of 64 arrested during the demonstrations to be indicted. Misdemeanor charges against the others were dismissed. Meisenbach was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, which carries a maximum sentence of ten years. Some members of the jury, made up of ten women and two men, said the reason for acquittal was divergent testimony of prosecution witnesses.

Two prosecution witnesses contradicted the testimony of patrolman Ralph Schaumleffel, who had charged that Meisenbach had hit him with his own night stick. The testimony of one, a former Federal narcotics agent, differed substantially from the account given by the policeman. Another witness also contradicted Schaumleffel when he testified that the policeman was "dragging or pulling or urging" a young man through the crowd when he was tackled by another. Schaumleffel had testified that he had fallen to a crouching position and was searching for his night stick when he was hit on the head.

NO ASSAULT SEEN: Five defense witnesses said they had seen no student assault on any police. Two said that they had seen Meisenbach stumble over a night stick, pick it up and toss it out of the way. Joseph F. Lewis, a member of the State Democratic Central Committee and the Santa Clara Democratic Central Committee, said he did not see patrolman Schaumleffel fall and saw no surge toward the barricades or any student violence.

Douglas Kinney, a 28-year-old Anna-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

The Cleveland seven

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On Feb. 20 the Supreme Court announced its refusal to review the convictions of the seven defendants in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley conspiracy case. The defendants have each been sentenced to 18 months in prison and a $2,500 fine.

It is to be hoped that the Attorney General and the President can be persuaded to reverse this vindictive punishment. In the meantime, however, these seven individuals are confronted not only with imprisonment but with a very serious problem in relation to the fines.

Their bail on appeal had been granted on condition that the fines could be taken out of the bail, and this is now about to be done. Some of them had posted cash bonds obtained by borrowing from friends and relatives. Others had posted surety bonds, but were compelled to guarantee payment of the fines to the bondsmen, putting up their homes and other possessions as security.

All of the defendants are people of very modest means, totally unable to pay a $2,500 fine in a lump sum, as is now being demanded of them. Nor are those who loaned their modest savings to them in a position to do so.

Under the circumstances, these individuals, who are victims of a political persecution, need and deserve help. It is incumbent on all who keenly feel the injustice of this case, as does this writer, to assist in the payment of the fines. Those who wish to contribute to this purpose are urged to send whatever sums they can give to Attorney Victor Rabinowitz, 25 Broad St., New York, N. Y.

Grace Hutchins

An example of government leniency: On May 6 the trial judge, Paul C. Weick, ordered two of the defendants, Marie and Fred Haug, to serve their sentences separately to lessen the hardship on their ten-year-old daughter Lucy. Mrs. Haug will go to jail first; Mr. Haug ten days after his wife's release.—Ed.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said in London Monday that his prayers have taken him through space "hundreds of times" and he is not impressed with the space flight of Maj. Yuri Gagarin. "I reach out into space every time I say my prayers," Dr. Geoffrey Fisher said. "Why should people be excited by such news?"

—St. Paul **Dispatch**, 4/25

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. O. R., St. Paul, Minn.

Cleveland's peace walk

CLEVELAND, OHIO

The Walk for Peace sponsored by the Cleveland Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy was two weeks later than in most cities but it was worth waiting (and organizing!) for. Well over 300 men, women and small children joined in the nine-mile procession down Euclid Ave. to Public Square, with the great majority walking the entire distance. At the square, 500 stood in the rain singing and listening to the rally which climaxed the day's activities.

Walker

Singing in the snow

MONTREAL, CANADA

Montreal and six other cities in Canada marched for peace. Ours took place in sleety snow. We marched from two parks, one west and one east, along Sherbrooks Street, converging at a corner in the heart of the city quite unused to such marches. About 600 or more baby carriages, a wheelchair patriot, and everyone singing in the snow.

Louise Harvey

Vandenburg vigil

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

A small out hardy band here demonstrated for peace at Vandenburg Air Force Base in California. A walk from Santa Maria to the main gate of Vandenburg (about 20 miles) and an all-night vigil was sponsored and organized by the San Luis Obispo Friends. There were 18 people on the walk, and more than half of these were students from Santa Barbara City College and the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Roy E. King

Reuel Stanfield

CINCINNATI, OHIO

Reuel Stanfield, a devoted GUARDIAN reader, died recently at the age of 60. He was a simple, exceptionally warm-hearted man with a gentle sense of humor. Since his youth he was active in leading, organizing and mediating strikes all over the country. All his life he fought for the interests of the working class, and the reactionaries could never forgive him that. Even the notice of his death was accompanied in the Cincinnati newspapers by slander and vilification. Reuel was often persecuted by the investigating committees.

He came to Cincinnati because he knew it was one of the reactionary strongholds of the country and other progressives had given up on it. Cincinnati is a poorer city now that Reuel is gone. After working eight hours a day, he would come home to his poor little room downtown and write and mimeograph progressive brochures and announcements which he sent to people all over Cincinnati. Single-handedly he carried on a massive campaign to defeat Rep. Gordon Scherer of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The rest of Reuel's time was taken up writing and polishing a book he had worked on for years. This book includes the story of his five years at San Quentin as a political prisoner on a trumped-up charge.

I shall never forget his dedication to truth, nor the way he tried to brighten people's lives. When I was impatient to see great changes he would tell me that the whole world struggle could be understood in terms of a farmer's psychology: the farmer plants his seeds and must wait for them to grow.

Reuel Stanfield died all alone, with no kin to claim his body. Only one man spoke up for him, columnist Alfred Segal (Cincinnati **Post**) who goes by the name of "Cincinnatus." This is what Segal wrote:

"We remember Mr. Stanfield . . . On Cincinnatus' desk lies a bagful of sales tax stamps . . . $48 worth . . . from Reuel Stanfield of 21 Mercer Street. This is for the Negro sightless at 932 Dayton Street."

Charlotte Saxe

Varnay, Daily Mail, London

"He says he's not protesting against anything—he's tired."

Lumumba's death

LONDON, ENGLAND

Excerpts of a letter to Adlai Stevenson, UN N.Y.:

Is not the most horrifying aspect that the world **knew?** When Lumumba was taken from jail, beaten and manhandled—the whole world saw the photographs; saw his tortured face, his hands tied with rope, a soldier holding the rope as if he were driving an ox to slaughter. Was not that the moment for "intervention"—in the name of humanity? Was it truly impossible for any power in the world—UN, Belgium, U.S., Great Britain or all of these together, to use some telling threat? Would Tshombe have defied every political and economic power? Lumumba, one thinks, must have said to himself: "Someone will rescue me."

The ghastly picture is that the whole world sits by—not powerless, but unwilling to save one drowning man.

Isn't the UN's failure in the Congo to use abstract unreal measures of "impartiality" and "objectivity" so that it ends by being "impartial" between legality and illegality? Lumumba was the elected head of the new Congo government. If pirates or gangsters or kidnapers abducted President Kennedy or Prime Minister Macmillan wouldn't someone act to save them?

Ella Winter

Adolf Heusinger

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I protest the appointment of General Adolf Heusinger as Chief of NATO, with headquarters in Washington — the capital of American democracy.

If Western civilization can survive only with the aid of Nazi monsters, then it does not deserve to survive.

Raphael Konigsberg

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN LAUREL, MISSISSIPPI, a crowd of 500 Americans gathered before the courthouse where a fellow-American was to be put to death because he was not white, like them, but Negro. The portable electric chair was set up in front of the jury box from which the verdict, "Guilty," was pronounced five years before. A little before midnight Willie McGee, head shaved, was led in. He was calm and dignified. Between 85 and 100 persons were in the courtroom to see him die, among them the husband of the woman who had cried "rape." The switch was thrown. When the hearse moved away, the crowd on the courthouse lawn cheered . . .

Mrs. Rosalee McGee, Willie McGee's wife and mother of his four children, had a simple message for all who had fought with her: "We must all keep on fighting until we're all free."

Willie McGee was buried Saturday in a little rural cemetery 35 miles north of Laurel where he had lived and died. On his last day he had written to his wife: "You know I am innocent. Tell the people again and again I never did commit this crime. Tell them the real reason they are going to take my life is to keep the Negro down in the South. They can't do this if you and the children keep on fighting."

Your truly husband,
Willie McGee

—From the National Guardian, May 16, 1961

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REPORT TO READERS

Powell-Schuman case

THE GUARDIAN READERSHIP, that hardy phalanx in every battle for humanity's cause, can take particular satisfaction in the news from San Francisco that the government has dropped its five-year-old charges of sedition against John W. and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, publishers of the **China Monthly Review** in Shanghai before and during the Korean War.

During the Korean War the **Review**, which was widely distributed to subscribers and libraries in the U.S., published lists of names of prisoners of war held by the North Koreans at a time when no POW names had been made public in the U.S.

When a U.S. Marine Corps colonel and other U.S. officers among the POW's made detailed admissions of having dropped germ canisters from U.S. aircraft on Chinese territory, the **Review** published these admissions along with confirming evidence presented by the Chinese and supported by investigations of an international commission of scientists and others.

The Powells and Schuman, U.S. citizens, returned to this country when they could no longer make a go of the **Review.** They were immediately set upon by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Senators Welker and Jenner demanded their prosecution, and they were indicted by a Federal grand jury in April, 1956.

In three years of legal skirmishing before the case went to trial in January, 1959, it became evident that the government hoped to convict the three journalists without airing the germ warfare charges, which the government declared to be false. Attorney A. L. Wirin received permission to go to China, and returned with an offer to bring 1,000 witnesses to support everything the **Review** had published. Three days after the trial started, a mistrial was declared because of prejudicial headlines in a Bay Area newspaper. The government immediately moved for and got a treason indictment, but this was soon thrown out by a U.S. Commissioner for lack of prosecution. The final withdrawal of the sedition indictments on May 2 ended five years of harassment and huge defense costs for three young U.S. journalists who used their talents to get at the truth. Their government could not try them without submitting the germ warfare charges to examination in open court; hence, case closed.

THE POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE was one of many aired primarily in the GUARDIAN in the last 13 years in which our readers have accurately perceived what was afoot and have given unstinting support. For those newly come to GUARDIAN readership, this is our kind of journalism—digging for the facts and, in the words of the old anthem, standing for the right.

And this is our kind of readership—people eager and unafraid to stand, as Lowell wrote in the tough years of the Abolition fight, "in the right with two or three."

Our effort, over the years, has been to improve on Lowell's lonely figures. We think people with the fortitude to stand up for good causes deserve more company than two or three, and we've got it to the point where, when the GUARDIAN readers take a stand, they can be pretty sure of being at least 50,000 strong, counting the husbands with the wives, etc.

AND LATELY, in the natural course of things, a welcome new legion has been forming—on issues such as peace, the sit-ins for Negro rights, the new Abolition fight against the House Un-American Activities Committee and support for the Cuban revolution. On these issues it is now more than just a good hope that these new-generation Abolitionists will far outnumber the Gideon's Army which showed the way.

As a sign of how this has been developing, suddenly the GUARDIAN is in demand on college campuses all over the country. True, we have worked to stimulate this, but we have worked at it in other years, too. Yet in this college semester alone, the GUARDIAN is now going the rounds on upwards of 100 major campuses, ranging from the Ivy League and the Big Ten and the best-known women's schools to dozens of smaller Eastern and Midwest colleges, several Western schools and even one in the South!

ON BEHALF of the long-embattled, unquitting GUARDIAN readership in all the outposts of our country, we welcome this new surge of youth to the good causes of our country and especially the many hundreds of college students now boosting the GUARDIAN.

We urge our campus readers to make sure the GUARDIAN goes along with you and your schoolmates this summer. And when you come back in the fall, "Fight, Team, Fight!"—for the things that truly matter for your and future generations.

—THE GUARDIAN

'THE INCREDIBLE ELECTRICAL CONSPIRACY'

GE boss denies order to rig prices but won't take lie test

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

ROBERT PAXTON, GE's $500,000-a-year president, said "I must be pretty damn dumb" when he denied to Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) that he knew anything about illegal price-rigging by his company and its competitors. John C. Fink, manager of a Westinghouse Corp. plant in Bloomington, Ind., which employs 500 workers and produces $13,000,000 worth of electrical capacitors a year, said he didn't know if his plant was making a profit and didn't know the prices of its products. Sen. John A. Carroll (D-Colo.) asked: "Are you sort of a corporate eunuch?"

Herblock, Washington Post

"Maybe we shouldn't have made so many speeches about the government spending too much money."

Four top GE executives in the $100,000 salary class swore that executive vice president Arthur F. Vinson during a 1958 luncheon meeting in Philadelphia instructed them to rig prices. The four passed FBI lie detector tests. Vinson denied the charges, but refused to take a lie detector test. Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) said, "Somebody is lying." and Kefauver sent the record to the Justice Dept. for possible legal action.

THE PLOT: Sen. Kefauver's Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly is digging into what **Fortune** magazine calls "the incredible electrical conspiracy." Last December, 29 large corporations pleaded guilty or "no defense" to government charges of price fixing, rigging of bids, and division of markets in electrical equipment. Forty-five corporation executives were named as defendants in 20 separate indictments.

In February a Federal judge levied fines totaling $1,924,500—GE was fined $437,000 and Westinghouse $372,500—and sent seven executives to jail for 30 days. Twenty-four others received suspended jail sentences and were put on probation for five years.

The indicted corporations avoided a public trial, which would have exposed the details of their cartel arrangements, by having everyone, and every corporation, plead either guilty or "nolo contendere;" no one pleaded not guilty. Kefauver's purpose in part is to upset the secrecy and let the public know how the cartels operated.

THE METHODS: The hearings so far have revealed a complex network of secret meetings and devices by which prices were rigged and markets divided. In one cartel, the attendance list was called the "Christmas card list" and the meetings were "choir practices." Codes were used, expense accounts were falsified, memoranda were destroyed. Cartel meetings were disguised as golf, hunting, and fishing parties. Trade association meetings provided a convenient cover for many price-fixing sessions.

Another cartel operated on a complex formula referred to as "phase of the moon," by which orders and prices were shared and set on a pre-arranged cyclical rotating system. Other orders were divided by choosing lots, by alphabetical order, and by simple negotiations.

Aim of the conspiracy was to achieve "price stability," which one GE executive admitted simply meant to "keep prices as high as possible and still sell the product." On the few occasions when the cartel arrangements broke down and competition took over, prices of electrical equipment fell almost 50%.

THE INNOCENTS: At stake in the investigation is the companies' contention that they themselves were innocent, that the illegal actions were committed by individual executives in violation of company policy. This is important not only to save face for the companies, but to give them a defense against heavy damage suits of the government and private utilities victimized by the cartels.

Federal Judge J. Cullen Ganey, who presided in the court case, called the conspiracy "a shocking indictment of a vast section of our economy" and held that the "real blame" belonged to the heads of the corporations even though the Justice Dept. didn't have actual evidence to convict them in court.

In the Kefauver hearings, GE has been hard put to maintain its corporate innocence and the innocence of its three top officials, Ralph J. Cordiner, chairman of the board, Robert Paxton, president, and Arthur F. Vinson, executive vice president. All three have been implicated in the price-fixing by the sworn testimony of top GE officials, both before the Federal grand jury and the Kefauver Committee.

LUDICROUS POSITION: The pose of corporate innocence is especially difficult. From 1940 to 1950 there were 13 anti-trust cases against GE. Now, 19 separate cartels in GE have been proved. In addition to the officials indicted, 32 others implicated themselves before the Philadelphia grand jury. As **Fortune** magazine observed (May, 1961, p. 164): "The company found itself in the ludicrous position of continuing to proclaim its corporate innocence while its executives were being implicated by platoons."

GE relies for its defense on a policy statement against violation of the anti-trust laws issued as company directive "20.5" by Ralph Cordiner when he became president in 1950. But testimony before the Kefauver Committee revealed that when this order was referred to, it was the habit to "wink" while reading its strong words. Paul Hartig, former general manager of the GE Insulator Dept., now vice president of the Yale & Towne Corp., told the committee that GE's anti-trust policy "was just another policy and we had many of them. If they weren't practical, we shouldn't follow them." Sen. Kefauver asked whether GE's "20.5" policy "is anything more than window dressing?"

In current hearings the reactionary Senators on the committee—Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.), Alexander Wiley (R-Wisc.), Roman L. Hruska (R-Nebr.), William A. Blakely (D-Tex.), and Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.)—have been acting in an unusually open fashion as partisans for the companies.

MANEUVERS: They first tried to prevent the hearings altogether on the ground that court proceedings were still under way. Then Dirksen, Wiley and Hruska waged a losing two-day battle to force the hearings into secret executive sessions.

The companies have long sought to avoid the anti-trust suits, and to prevent a Congressional investigation.

They fought Robert Bicks, the Justice Dept. lawyer who spearheaded the GE-Westinghouse cases. Bicks was appointed Asst. Atty. Gen. in charge of the Anti Trust Division by President Eisenhower on May 9, 1960, but he was never confirmed because Senate Judiciary Committee chairman James Eastland (D-Miss.) and other reactionaries on the committee blocked action.

Sen. Prescott Bush (R-Conn.), a Wall Street investment banker, charged on the Senate floor last Aug. 15 that opposition to Bick's confirmation as Anti-Trust chief was due solely to "large business organizations who seem to fear he is too much of a trustbuster." Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) told the Senate that "the complaints of the giants of American industry have been loud and long against Bicks . . ."

As Sen. Kefauver in Washington turned the emphasis of his investigation from GE to Westinghouse and the other companies in the electrical cartel, these things were happening:

- A Federal grand jury in New York brought a criminal indictment against General Motors Corp. for using its "vast economic power" illegally to monopolize the Diesel locomotive manufacturing industry.
- The Justice Dept. called another Federal grand jury in Philadelphia to hear new evidence of price-fixing and bid-rigging in the electrical equipment industry.
- The Federal government on May 2 rejected 15 identical bids on more than $1,250,000 of transmission line equipment sought by the Interior Dept. Secy. Stewart L. Udall said: "We are amazed that we continue to receive bids offering identical prices."

SOUTHERN LEADERS SEEK CLEMENCY

Braden and Wilkinson begin serving sentences

SEVENTEEN white and Negro Southern leaders have initiated a petition to President John F. Kennedy asking for clemency for Carl Braden. Braden and Frank Wilkinson surrendered to the U.S. Marshal in Atlanta, Ga., May 1 to begin serving one-year sentences for contempt of Congress.

Braden, who is field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Wilkinson, field representative of the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activitites, were cited for contempt after they refused on First Amendment grounds to answer committee questions at hearings in Atlanta in 1958.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., one of the clemency petition's initiators, said: "I have no doubt they are being punished—particularly Mr. Braden—for their integration activities. We are not upholding communism in any way. We simply feel the House Un-American Activities Committee should not be used to thwart integration. We see the rise of McCarthyism in the South again because all other weapons of the segregationists have failed."

FOR ABOLITION: Dr. King said that he is in favor of abolishing the committee: "We agree with Mr. Justice Hugo Black in his dissenting opinion which said that if the committee has unlimited powers it will misuse them. We think if the Un-American Activities Committee is to have the power to subpena everyone they will misuse the power to stand in the way of integration."

Braden and Wilkinson will be held in Atlanta's Fulton County jail until about May 15 when Braden will be transferred to the Federal prison at Greenville, S.C., and Wilkinson to Terminal Island, Calif. While in the county jail they may receive mail. In Federal prisons incoming mail is restricted to seven persons on a previously approved list.

THE SEND-OFF: Present when the two men walked down Atlanta's Fairlie Street arm in arm were Braden's wife, Anne, and his son, Jimmy, Dr. Otto Nathan, co-chairman of the New York Council to Abolish HUAC, and newspaper reporters. Braden pinned a pink rosebud in Wilkinson's lapel and his own and the two men held an impromptu press conference before they entered Atlanta's Old Post Office to surrender. Braden said their imprisonment will "be worthwhile if it alerts the American people to the dangers posed to their liberties by the House Un-American Activities Committee and others like it."

About 50 white and Negro educators and religious leaders waited for Braden and Wilkinson who emerged in a half hour in handcuffs and entered a patrol wagon for the trip to jail.

Earlier in the day U.S. District Judge Boyd Sloan, Newnan, Ga., had refused to reduce or probate their sentences.

SUPPORT PLEDGED: The two men had spent the weekend in Atlanta at a board of directors meeting of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The board voted to "express our support for these two men by redoubling our own efforts in the next year to bring integration to the South and to restore liberty in all of America." The board also pledged continued efforts to abolish the Committee.

After the SCEF meeting Braden and Wilkinson were honored at a reception at Morehouse College, Atlanta University, by Negro and white students, Dr. and Mrs. King and other integration leaders.

THREE JAILBIRDS: WILKINSON, DR. WILLARD UPHAUS AND BRADEN
Dr. Uphaus has served his year; Wilkinson and Braden are beginning theirs

SHORTER WORKWEEK PROPOSED AT UAW CONVENTION

Reuther wins 'flexible' bargaining program

UNEMPLOYED UNION MEMBERS PICKETED THE THREE-DAY AUTO WORKERS' CONVENTION IN DETROIT
Reuther outmaneuvered delegates who wanted a program for a 30-hour week and retirement at age 60

By Carl Haessler
Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

JUDGED by physical setting, public attention, press coverage, distinguished guests, highly skilled controls, and comprehensive program, the United Auto Workers' special convention here April 27-29 was highly successful.

Called to consider bargaining demands for the 1961 contract negotiations which will open early in July, it met in the magnificent city-owned Cobo Hall. The 3-day proceedings were spiced by uninterrupted picketing by unemployed union members, active embodiments of the union's biggest problem — the relentless abrasion of jobs through automation and new devices to hold down the size of the work force.

Press facilities were faultless, and so were the devices for controlling the temper and the voting of the 2,000 delegates. Crises were nimbly surmounted and opponents made to look ridiculous. The inner contradictions and confusion of the union program remained unnoticed, or at any rate unremarked, on the convention floor.

FLEXIBILITY: The term "flexible" was sounded repeatedly by president Walter P. Reuther, who was chairman of all the sessions. It meant a kind of department-store listing of problems and possible solutions while not insisting on any one answer. The corporations would be given a choice, aided by union persuasion and public opinion.

In similar fashion Congress, to which the leadership looked for legislative answers to a portentously high proportion of the problems, would be presented with alternative solutions. These would be offered not as demands but as more or less friendly suggestions for pulling America's workers out of what Reuther described as the social jungle of corporate selfishness and stubbornness and Congressional backwardness. The bargaining approach was to be conciliatory and cooperative—management and labor coming together in honest friendly attempts to find the best answers to mutually acknowledged problems.

"We ought to say to management," Reuther said in his opening speech, "we are flexible on how we do it but we are determined that it will be done . . . We hope that management will respond in the same spirit so that we can find answers in the atmosphere of rational, constructive, intelligent, responsible collective bargaining."

SELF-EVIDENT: "No one has to tell us with picket signs out in front of meetings," he continued, "that there is a serious unemployment problem." He used the figure of 64% more cars turned out in 1960 than in 1947 but with 5% fewer workers. He mentioned that the Dept. of Labor listed 285 distress labor market areas in March and that the list had grown to 300 in April, with unemployment in some running up to 30%. The 18.3% February unemployment in the General Motors town of Flint, Mich., rose to 23.2% in March. The Detroit March percentage was 14.7%, or 210,000 without a job. The Michigan percentage was 14%, or 417,000 unemployed.

Reuther said: "When you have the tools of abundance you can have full employment only as you relate these tools to the needs of the many. When you gear them to the selfish interests of the few you get in trouble." But he soon lost his audience in a denunciation of "communist tyranny" as contrasted to the "bread and freedom" of what he termed the free world.

As possible remedies for unemployment he listed a shorter workweek; early retirement with pension; longer paid vacations; additional paid holidays; what he called industrial sabbaticals (half a year to a year off with full pay); control of overtime work; restraint on giving plant work to outside contractors; a flexible Federal automation fund to aid displaced workers; and "many other things."

30-40-60: Ford Local 600 and a score of other local unions had come out for the 30-40-60 demand (30 hours work at 40 hours pay and retirement on pension at 60), distributing buttons and literature. But the union administration did not want its hands tied to a particular demand. Toward the close of the second morning session Reuther delivered the most radical-sounding speech of the convention in which he attacked the 30-40-60 demand as a catchy slogan that might split the unity of the union membership. He offered to submit the issue to a straw vote even though the rules had been drawn to prevent the delegates from calling up any particular resolution.

He shaped the issue as favoring either the comprehensive committee program, including a shorter workweek on one hand, or exclusively 30-40-60 on the other. Without permitting any correction or discussion by the opposition, he took the straw vote and found that far less than the stipulated 525 delegates stood up for 30-40-60.

The opposition was left holding the bag. In the afternoon session selected opposition speakers were given the floor but no leader of the Natl. Committee For Democratic Action In UAW, which had mobilized country-wide sentiment for the demand, was able to gain recognition from the chair. They did not seem dismayed and predicted that the 1962 regular UAW convention will be different. They advised reporters to follow the local union elections this spring when they confidently expect changes in local leadership that will alter the complexion of the 1962 delegations. The most significant test of this forecast will come in June in Ford Local 600, where Carl Stellato is running with Reuther support for reelection after his primary election defeat in a bid for Rep. Lesinski's seat in Congress last fall.

SHORTER CONTRACTS: Other problems tackled in the UAW program included substituting annual salaries for wages of production workers, adequate supplemental unemployment benefits, relief for displaced workers, discrimination, speedup, health, retirement, purchasing power, and lastly, shorter contracts limited to one or two years.

The legislative program covered most U.S. social shortcomings as they affect workers. Enactment of the suggestions is a long-term affair since even President Kennedy's far more superficial program is getting its bumps in Congress.

The program wound up with the assertion that "the basic challenge in the world today lies in the conflict between our ideology of the West, which holds out the promise of bread and freedom, and the ideology of the East, which promises bread at the expense of freedom."

Perhaps the zaniest remark of the convention came when vice president Leonard Woodcock, hoping to stem what he feared was a trend against the union program, cried:

"America today is a community in peril. One can think only about the deteriorating situation in Laos, one can think only about the collapsed invasion in Cuba, and the fact that is so obvious that the common people in Cuba are supporting Castro."

THE PROSPECTS: Ahead lie two months to prepare for negotiations. The summer months will reveal what the flexible approach can produce. If the 6c-an-hour annual (or 2½%) improvement factor is retained in the 1961 contracts, as is likely, there will be at least a 12c wage raise, half of it coming after one year, or an 18c increase if the contracts are again for three years and the extra 6c is added at the start of the third year. Actually most auto workers will get 7c or better per year since hourly rates have risen enough to make the 2½% option preferable. There may also be some betterment in fringe benefits though the economic fact remains inexorable that each boost in wage and fringe costs finds management correspondingly stimulated to invest in more automation.

Acquittal of student

(Continued from Page 1)

polis graduate, said he had seen a patrolman holding a youngster's head down and hitting him with his club. "As I was leaving I saw the individual I had seen beaten slouched in an alcove. He was handcuffed and blood was running out of his mouth," he said. Schaumleffel admitted hitting Meisenbach with his hand, but denied that he had given the student "a real beating."

During the trial San Francisco Chronicle columnist Herb Caen wrote: "If you get the feeling the D.A.'s office is doing a somewhat reluctant (if not downright embarrassed) job of prosecuting the Bob Meisenbach City Hall 'riot' trial, your instincts are correct. Angle No. 1: Just before the trial began, the D.A. offered Meisenbach a ten-day suspended sentence if he'd plead guilty to a lesser misdemeanor charge. He refused, on acct. he plans to be a teacher and needs a clean record . . ."

CRITICS SUPPORTED: Meisenbach's acquittal supports critics of the Un-American Activities Committee who contend that FBI and police reports and the committee's film version of the demonstrations, "Operation Abolition," are untrue. The original version of the film, narrated by Fulton Lewis III, a committee researcher, quoted J. Edgar Hoover's report: "One of the demonstrators provided the spark that touched off the flame of violence. Leaping a barricade that had been erected, he grabbed an officer's night stick and began beating the officer over the head. The mob surged forward as if to storm the doors, and a police inspector ordered the fire hose turned on. The water forced the crowd to the head of the balustrade, and the cold water had a sobering effect on the emotions of the demonstrators."

Schaumleffel gave the lie to this when he admitted that his tussle with Meisenbach took place after the hoses had been turned on and off. Meisenbach testified that he did not leap the barricades and was not near the barricades when the hoses were turned on. He said he was beaten by Schaumleffel, but did not strike back.

THE EVIDENCE: An analysis of "Operation Abolition" by the Bay Area Students Committee to abolish HUAC points out that there are no shots of Meisenbach's alleged action in the film. "The reason for this is simple: none exist. All pictures taken at the start of the hosing show the demonstrators seated, separated from the police by barricades which have not been disturbed," the analysis says. Defense attorneys pointed to a photograph published in the May 23 issue of Life magazine which showed barricades intact as the hoses were turned on and pictured Meisenbach leaning against a pillar about 20 feet away.

Even before the verdict, Herbert Romerstein, a frequent Committee witness who shows the film on campuses, said at the University of Rochester: "All parties are agreed now that the fire hoses were not turned on as a result of Meisenbach's leaping the barricades and striking a policeman. It is now known that whatever Meisenbach did came later after the hoses were turned on." He said events in the film had been "telescoped a bit."

The admission that the film was in error on Meisenbach is the second major admission of distortion forced on the Committee. Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) admitted some months ago that the film was in error concerning the presence of Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

INTO THE CREEK: Defense attorney Jack Berman, a former assistant district attorney told the press: "This knocks the film 'Operation Abolition' into the creek, and nails the lies in the original police department reports . . . It is a direct blow

to the House Committee on Un-American Activities given by 12 impartial citizens who finally heard the facts."

The Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund, sponsored by professors and religious and civic leaders including Roger Baldwin, Eric Fromm, Alexander Meiklejohn, Reinhold Niebuhr and Norman Thomas, has issued a call for funds for Meisenbach's defense. Estimated cost for legal and research fees is $20,000. The fund's address is c/o Prof. John Otwell, Pacific School of Religion, 1798 Scenic, Berkeley 9, Calif.

MANY DISILLUSIONED WITH MERGER, BUT SPLIT IS UNLIKELY

Labor's lost love: AFL-CIO leaders feud with Meany

By Robert E. Light

THE FIVE-and-one-half-year-old marriage of convenience of the CIO and the AFL is on the rocks. Neither side is yet talking divorce, but the partners are bickering in public for the first time. Each confides that its experience in the marriage bed has been unsatisfying.

The loudest complaints come from the CIO side against the impotence of the old craft union leaders. The industrial union leaders' hopes for a large family have dimmed; there are fewer members in the merged House of Labor than ever before.

Labor's social status in Washington also has dwindled. Its ability to win social legislation has diminished. And the AFL attitude on civil rights and foreign policy has alienated CIO leaders from former friends.

MEANY'S ROAD: If separation is not imminent, there is also small chance the partners will kiss and make up. The marriage will likely continue for want of a better arrangement. The last challenge to the tired leadership of the craft chiefs in the mid-Thirties led to the formation of the CIO.

When the federations joined in 1955 under George Meany, there was great hope that the combined strength could lead to great union organizing drives and the use of labor's influence for social legislation and civil rights. At the time of the merger the GUARDIAN (Dec. 19, 1955) pointed to this path for the AFL and CIO, but it also questioned: "Would they together march down the dangerous road chosen by Meany? Such a course could lead to the unity of the graveyard."

Labor is not yet ready for the cemetery, but the cancers of bureaucracy and maniacal devotion to the cold war have sapped its strength. There were 15,000,000 members in the merged federation in 1955. At last February's meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council, membership was reported at 12,500,000, including some 700,000 in Canada.

QUEST FOR PURITY: Some of the decline is attributed to the leadership's zeal for respectability, which resulted in the expulsion of the 1,500,000-member Teamsters and two small unions. The impact of recurrent recessions and the shift from blue collar to white collar jobs have cut membership. Improved technology and automation have eliminated thousands of jobs.

Less than 22% of the U.S. work force is in unions. Many workers are in jobs unions believe are unsuitable for organization. But of those labor believes it can organize, only about one in three are in unions. The figure was 40% in 1955.

The promised organizing drives in the South and among white collar workers have never gotten off the ground. Such lightly organized industries as textile, agriculture, chemical and oil have no more union members than before the merger; in some cases, less. There are fewer organizers on the AFL-CIO staff than there were five years ago.

Part of labor's organizing problems can be laid to the anti-union atmosphere created by Sen. McClellan's rackets committee hearings. White collar workers are also traditionally reluctant to join unions.

CRAFT UNIONS BLAMED: But industrial union leaders blame the backwardness of AFL officials. They point out that the Teamsters Union has added 200,000 members since its expulsion in 1957. They say the craft unions would rather raid CIO territory than organize new plants.

The craft and industrial unions have always had jurisdictional disputes. A no-raiding provision of the merged federation's constitution was implemented in 1958 by an agreement to submit disputes over organizing activities to an impartial referee. The referee's decisions were not binding and were subject to review by the AFL-CIO executive council. The system broke down because unions did not fear censure by the council.

A special committee headed by Al J. Hayes, president of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists, in 1959 worked out a plan based on compulsory arbitration. But the craft unions have delayed approving it.

BOILING POINT: The feud came to a boil at an Industrial Union Dept. meeting in February, 1960, when Auto Workers president Walter Reuther denounced a brochure published by the Construction Industry Joint Conference which recommended to industry that farming out maintenance and repair work was cheaper than keeping maintenance workers on the payroll. Tens of thousands of members of the auto, steel, electrical, chemical and oil unions are maintenance workers. Farmed-out work would go to craft union members.

Former plumber Meany stepped in to plug the leak with a warning to both sides. But industrial union leaders have since centered their fire on him. They claim that Meany has sided with his old friends in the crafts. Meany and Reuther are barely on speaking terms.

Reuther called a meeting of industrial union chiefs on April 13 at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York. Some 60 leaders of 35 unions listed their grievances. They wanted a special convention to pass the compulsory arbitration plan against raiding. Reuther called for "new and bold concepts" on the economic and political front. He said: "We do not feel that a rehashing of the New Deal is sufficient to meet the very serious problems of hard-core unemployment."

LIE CALLED: Reuther headed a committee which presented grievances to Meany on April 24. The official word was that Meany would look into matters. But in an interview with the New York **Times** Meany described as "an absolute lie" Reuther's assertion that he blocked the arbitration plan. The matter may again flare up at the executive council meeting on June 26.

The meeting is also to discuss a code of fair racial practices submitted by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It calls for (1) an end to discrimination in unions and in apprentice-training programs; (2) the appointment of Negroes to policy-making positions in the AFL-CIO and in affiliated unions; and (3) the reorganization of the federation's civil rights committe with a Negro as director.

Randolph, a Negro, has conducted a lone fight with Meany for civil rights. But privately many union leaders concede that jimcrow's continuance in labor is out of step with history. They are embarrassed when craft union leaders in the South openly advocate segregation. To maintain their standing with liberals, they want a better record for labor on civil rights. They are also being pressured by their Negro members.

WALTER REUTHER (R.) LOOKED TO GEORGE MEANY FIVE YEARS AGO
AFL-CIO failures have brought their feud into the open

BROWN FIRED: When Randolph raised the civil rights issue at the AFL-CIO convention in 1959, Meany challenged his right to speak for Negroes. Randolph subsequently formed the Negro American Labor Council and was elected its president. With his additional credentials, Randolph proposed the code at the executive council meeting in February. Meany postponed discussion until June and advised the NALC to stick to "helping their people and bringing to our attention in a proper and orderly way, things they think we can do to be helpful."

Last month NALC secy. Theodore E. Brown was fired as asst. director of the AFL-CIO civil rights department. AFL-CIO officials insisted the firing had "nothing to do with civil rights." But NAACP executive secy. Roy Wilkins said: "Mr. Brown has been a tireless and effective fighter against racial discrimination in organized labor, and the public will find it hard to believe otherwise than that he was dismissed because of his insistent efforts to achieve the goal of full equality for the Negro worker in the American labor movement."

Meany's attitude toward Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), a Negro, has irked many union leaders. Last year when he learned that Powell might become chairman of the House Labor Committee, Meany complained that it would be "terrible." Powell was since appointed to the post. When he called a "get acquainted" meeting of labor lobbyists, Meany ordered AFL-CIO officials to stay away, ostensibly because Teamsters would be there.

FOREIGN POLICY: Meany didn't attend a legislative conference of the Industrial Union Dept. March 6 and 7, but Powell did. In introducing the Congressman, IUD secy. James Carey underscored his feud with Meany thus: "Some labor leaders said Rep. Powell would be a terrible committee chairman. A few more terrible appointments like this and we'll get something done in Washington."

One of the implicit understandings of the merger was that Meany would have his way on foreign policy resolutions. Most CIO leaders differed only in degree with his anti-Soviet proclamations. The CIO had already expelled its "communist-tainted" unions. But as labor leaders and liberals around the world have come to support disarmament and an easing of world tensions, Meany has put labor on record to the right of the Republican Party. Part of Meany's philosophy, too, is for an alliance between management and labor in the national interest against the "world menace of communism."

Recently some union leaders have openly flouted the AFL-CIO's hard line on the cold war. Leaders of the auto, clothing, meat cutters and electrical unions have spoken for disarmament. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' paper **Advance** urged members to "support peace groups—find an organization working actively for peace and joint it."

VIRILITY NEEDED: Reuther and Amalgamated Meat Cutters secy-treas. Patrick Gorman sent congratulatory telegrams to the SANE Easter peace walk. Auto Workers secy.-treasurer Emil Mazey and Clothing Workers secy.-treas. Frank Rosenblum spoke at a labor peace rally sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago on April 14 and 15.

These leaders have not yet drifted far from Meany's line. Their blind denunciations of the U.S.R.R. contradict their words for international agreements. To some extent they are the right wing of the peace movement. But that they have challenged Meany's policies at all is a step forward. How far they will go perhaps rests with their memberships.

Labor's lost love could lead to the recapture of the old militancy. But it will take more virility than is now found in the master bedrooms of the House of Labor.

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THE DEAN OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS PROPOSES:

A logical program for a free Congo

Shortly after the following article was written, Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu's Foreign Minister Justin Bomboko announced on May 7 that the Kasavubu government had arrested self-appointed President Moise Tshombe of the mineral-rich secessionist Katanga province, that it planned to try him on charges of "high treason" and for the murder of former Premier Patrice Lumumba, and it would use force if necessary to reunite Katanga with the rest of the Congo and recover the central government's income from and assets in the Katanga industries.

Observers wondered if Bomboko realized the full significance of his announcement. For Lumumba was criticized by UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold, hounded by the U.S. and its UN supporters and persecuted by Western-backed Kasavubu and his strongman, Col. Mobutu, for making the same demands the Kasavubu government is now making about Katanga; and it was Kasavubu who handed Lumumba over to Tshombe for "safekeeping."

By W. E. B. Du Bois

THE CONGO is a mighty valley which is—without its artificial political boundaries—half the size of the United States outside Alaska. It is rich in known and undeveloped resources: copper, gold, silver, industrial diamonds, uranium and many other metals. It has vast forests of hardwoods, and palms of all sorts. Its elephants furnish ivory, its people grow fruits, fibers and vegetable oils. There is unbounded water power from nearly 3,000 miles of the vast and curving Congo and its tributaries.

For this wealth and for the cheap labor of its 15,000,000 of peoples, the Western world today is staging one of its greatest and most ruthless battles. Corporate industry today is making a last and desperate stand to control Africa. It is not merely little Belgium or Tshombe of Katanga—it is the organized wealth of North America, the British Commonwealth, France, West Germany, Switzerland and Italy. The West still believes that it can buy the world with money, own it and live on it in ease and luxury. To this end, the citizens of the United States alone are spending $50,000,000,000 a year and more.

Because of the increased and worldwide use of electricity which demands copper for transmission, because of the use of ivory in modern art and industry and because of the increasing use of atomic energy, the Congo has become a center of African development, and the reason for the desperate determination of America and Western Europe to control this part of Africa.

THE HISTORY: The Congo valley is not, as currently painted, a nest of howling savages with a few half-educated leaders filled with crazy and impossible ambitions. The history of this territory today is confused, disjointed and deliberately misinterpreted. But history there is, and it must be studied and understood.

All this story cannot yet be united into one continuous and scientifically provable history, but there are parts of it well known and of great fascination. The culture of the Bushongo, who were part of the Ba-Luba family, is noteworthy. The Luba-Lunda people founded Katanga and other states, and in the 16th Century came the larger and more ambitious realm of the Mwata Yanvo.

The last of the 14 rulers of this line was feudal lord of about 300 chiefs, who paid him tribute in ivory, skins, corn, cloth and salt. This included about 100,000 square miles and 2,000,000 or more inhabitants. The use of the loom in Africa reached the coast after its use inland had become general. Velvets, brocades, satins, taffetas and damasks were imported to Congo by those great traders, the Bateke.

MANY CULTURES: During the last 20 centuries the Congo saw a series of cultural developments which rose, spread and fell before the oncoming Bantu of the north, or the western rush of the Zeng of Zanzibar, and, perhaps, because of the northern march of the empire of the Monomotapa. There arose the manufacture of brocades and velvets, ironmaking spread, and work in copper and bronze. The art of West Africa spread through parts of the Valley and the extraordinary political organization of the Bushongo with its organization of government with representatives of arts and crafts, where every chief represented not only a territory but an industry.

Then, with the imperial expansion of the Sudan southward and the westward growth of Atlantis came the thousand-year march of the Bantu from the Sahara to the Cape. Across all this struck the slave trade, from Africa to America, for 100 fatal years; and on that rose the Industrial Revolution. Europe seized Africa: France in the north; Britain in the east and south; and Germany, at long last forcing herself into east, south and west Africa; and, finally, Leopold of Belgium, slipping craftily in between the rivalries of France, Britain and Germany, helped by an American explorer, Henry M. Stanley, organized the so-called Congo Free State. The great powers allowed him to proceed, though curbing his boundaries, each planning eventual seizure.

But Leopold was crafty. He called religion and trade to his aid and flamboyantly announced a great development of the African peoples. The Congo Free State, however, instead of becoming a center of civilization and religion, sank to such cruelty and exploitation that the world screamed in protest. Leopold was forced to surrender control of the Congo to the State of Belgium.

POLITICAL POWER DENIED: Once I talked with Vanderveld, a Socialist Minister of Belgium, concerning the future of the Congo. He planned much and tried hard, but the industry which Leopold had begun in the Congo was now in the hands of great corporations owned by Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland and the United States. Despite Socialist plans, they seized the land, exploited the labor and began to make huge profit from ivory, copper, diamonds and uranium.

They planned to avoid the mistakes of France and Britain in developing a class of educated natives who might aspire to share rule with the colonial power. On the other hand, they tried to appease the native. They left much home rule in the hands of recognized tribal chiefs paid by the State. They gave skilled work and wages larger than customary to an increasing group of workers. They allowed the Catholic Church and a few Protestant sects to give primary education to numbers of children. But they kept the natives from attending Belgian higher schools or establishing such schools in the Congo.

SUDDEN TURN: For a time this seemed an ideal plan. Peace reigned and profits soared. In the end the plan failed and somewhat suddenly. Instead of Negro ambition being confined and drained off slowly into an intelligentsia such as both France and Britain had produced, the Congolese movement swelled within almost silently and then suddenly burst into a demand for complete independence—a demand led by young men like Patrice Lumumba. The demand was so unexpected that the Belgians were at first at a loss as to how to meet it.

Then they turned swiftly. They planned a small introduction of higher learning to supply the Congolese with the professional help which they so desperately needed, physicians, dentists, social workers, and even lawyers. On the industrial side they encouraged a Congolese bourgeoisie, skilled workers, and even managers, who would be paid enough to join the Belgians in exploiting the masses. Thus arose Kasavubu and Tshombe.

Notwithstanding these efforts the Belgians could not win the battle. A young man, Patrice Lumumba, led a movement for a Congo State completely independent of Belgium. He had a fair education although never allowed to attend an institution of higher learning. But he was honest and sincere and had an increasing following. The Belgians first attacked him as all colonial powers attack native leaders. He was accused of dishonesty in his position in the Post Office. He was sent to jail, just as all colonials have been like Nehru, Ghandhi, Nkrumah and McCauley. Later he was even accused of debauchery and drug taking.

THE TRUTH: These were all lies, just as other Western tales about Soviet women and Chinese workers. My wife has seen and heard and talked with Lumumba. I have seen him. He was a clean and frank young man, nervous, excitable, but no criminal, no drunkard. The Belgians saw that they could not keep him from gaining a majority of the new Congolese parliament and so they maneuvered to have Kasavubu, a man whom they could control, made president, with Lumumba's consent, so long as Lumumba was Prime Minister. By all rules of modern politics the executive power of the country lay in Lumumba's hands while the majority of parliament supported him. But Kasavubu after being made an officer in the Belgian army, usurped power and dismissed Lumumba without a parliamentary vote.

In addition to this, a further and more desperate effort was resorted to. Katanga, in southeast Congo, bordering the Rhodesias and Portuguese Angola, was rising to fantastic prosperity through the mining and sale of copper. The profits to Europeans and North America in 1960 were the largest in the history of the Congo. The need of this colonial foundation to support Western industry was greater than ever: and it was not difficult to bribe a black man to throw in his efforts with the Belgians and their allies.

ANOTHER TYPE: Tshombe was the son of a bourgeois Congolese. In the All-African Congress held in Accra in 1958 he had pledged himself to work for African independence. But, on the other hand, he had seen what European industry and wealth could mean. The Belgians had flattered him and pushed him forward, and he conceived that the independence of Katanga from the rest of the Congo would mean the rise of black men like himself. He, therefore, led a movement of secession to take the prosperous and industrial Katanga out of the new, black, independent state. This was just what Western Europe and North America wanted: fragmentation of this vast center of cheap labor and valuable material.

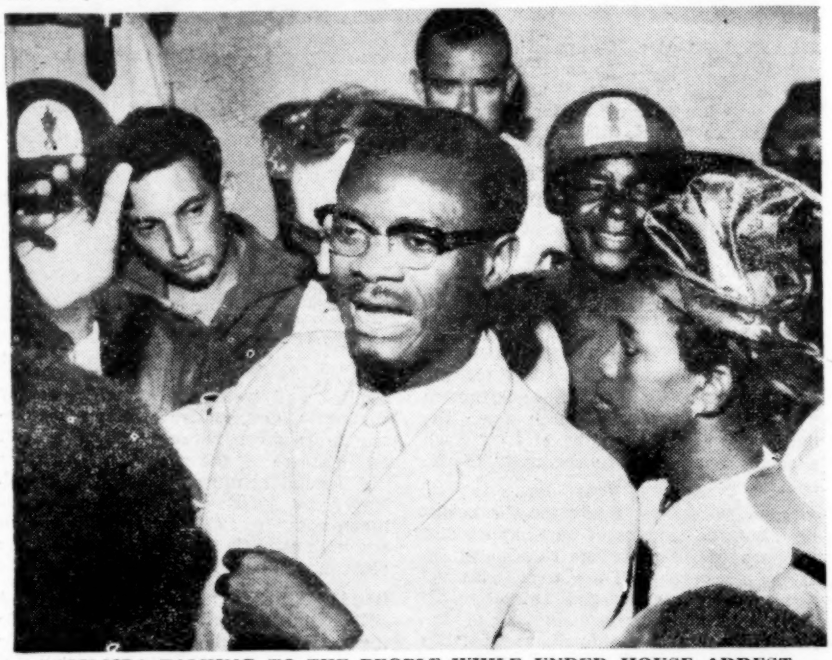
But this plan could not be realized so long as Lumumba held a majority in parliament. The conspirators did not dare to reassemble parliament and they silently agreed upon a bloody and revolting deed which curiously illustrates the difference between what we call "backward" and "modern" civilization. To Congolese of the Tshombe type, evil is done away with by a direct, decisive blow. The West does the same thing but causes in the execution, so as to avoid or postpone criticism. They use hypocrisy and deceit. The West was going to displace Lumumba, but by imprisonment or deportation or "accident," simply by denying him protection. Tshombe, or his men, on the other hand, murdered him in cold blood. The West, then, hastened to cash in on the new Madagascar which had just slipped out of colonial hell. They got together a hurried meeting. But the world shuddered at murder and hesitated. The Belgian ministry fell. The British Commonwealth split. The United States gagged.

LOGICAL PROGRAM: Here, then, we stand today, and the chief object of our periodicals and literary writers, of our industrial leaders and great corporations, is to make America believe that African freedom depends upon the transforming of the Congo Republic into a series of small, antagonistic states whose chief function is to furnish profits for Western capitalism.

A logical program for an independent Congo State is clear. Let the people of the Congo recede from catering almost solely to the wants of the Western world and begin working for their own simple needs. Let them decrease the amount of copper mined and of uranium exported. The copper will not spoil if it lies longer in the ground. The present need for atomic energy does not call for continued Congo effort.

The people of the Congo should till the soil, raise the food they need, the fiber they wear and material for their homes. To do this effectively they need education, especially in agriculture. A wide and desperate effort to educate the people of the Congo should be started. They must learn to read, write and count; and, also, they must have nurses, physicians and dentists, and above all, teachers, but not flunkies screened by the FBI.

Much of this education they can do for themselves; help can be obtained from neighboring African states, and the money which the West is furnishing for investment and bombs could be loaned the Congo for schools. Ancient African barter can be restored in the marketplace; simple industry for local needs can be established with modern methods. Trade with their African neighbors can increase and also such European trade as the Congo needs—and not solely for Western profit. In this way a united people could become self-supporting, intelligent and healthy, and take their place among the nations of the world.



LUMUMBA TALKING TO THE PEOPLE WHILE UNDER HOUSE ARREST
"He was a clean and frank young man, nervous, excitable, but no criminal."

CLAIMS OF CAMPUS STRENGTH SEEN EXAGGERATED

Right-wing youth groups look to elders for advice

Following is the first in a series of articles examining the influence and character of the conservative political action groups in the U.S. Subsequent stories will discuss the governmental and Congressional links of these groups, and the nature and composition of America's "hate groups."

By Joanne Grant

HUCKSTERS of the "conservative revolt" are making exaggerated claims of great influence on the campus and of the potential political importance of conservative youth. Reactionary organizations of young people have received abundant press attention in recent months, blowing up their significance far beyond their actual impact.

One of the most publicized, the Young Americans for Freedom, lays claim to 23,000 members on over 100 campuses; yet its activities thus far do not demonstrate this strength.

THEY'RE AGAINST: The YAF program, as enunciated in "The Sharon Statement" formulated last September at the YAF founding conference—at the Sharon, Conn., estate of William F. Buckley Jr., editor of the **National Review**—is based on more state and less Federal government and a "free" economy. YAF in general is against—against disarmament, against negotiations with the Soviet Union, against self-government for colonial countries. YAF is for student loyalty oaths and the Un-American Activities Committee.

It is not precisely against the Peace Corps: YAF members fought at a recent youth meeting in Washington to make it, as the Antioch College **Record** noted, a "cold war corps." The "conservative minority,' the paper said, issued "manifestoes calling for State Dept. control of Peace Corps policy, thorough indoctrination of corpsmen in 'political tactics, democratic theory and the communist menace,' and an FBI security check on corps applicants." Their suggestions were rejected in favor of the approach of the National Students Assn. which seeks a more subtle use of the corps as propagandists.

ON SEGREGATION: YAF is not precisely against school desegregation either. William Dunphy in **Commonweal** noted that with at least a third of YAF's membership drawn from Southern conservatives, its policy committee is "reluctant" to pass judgment on the student sit-in demonstrations. "One member of the committee even said that most YAF members felt the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision was a tragic blunder," Dunphy wrote.

On NBC's "Open Mind" program, YAF national director, Douglas Caddy, was asked if the conservatives have a position on desegregation. He said: "I don't think you can make it that simple. There is a great issue here of states' rights."

With whom and for what YAFers stand is perhaps best illustrated by the rally they sponsored March 3 with Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) as the featured speaker. There the "first annual national awards for contributions to American conservatism and the youth of the nation" were presented to Buckley, author Taylor Caldwell; Chiang Kai-shek's Ambassador to the U.S. George Yeh; Russell Kirk, author of **The Conservative Mind;** Herbert Kohler, president of the Kohler Co.; Hearst columnist George Sokolsky, Lewis L. Strauss, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.), HUAC chairman.

SUCH IMPUDENCE: In his report on the rally (**National Review**, March 25) Buckley said that when he asked a friend why he was laughing so loudly and long, the friend listed the award winners and noted that the awards were being given not by the American Legion but by college students. "It's the sheer **impudence** of it all'" the friend exclaimed. Buckley wrote: "It was as though the student body of the Lenin Institute took time off in the middle of the semester to pay tribute to the memory of the Czar."

SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER
Hero of campus conservatives

Yes, they were students, but, as Buckley noted defensively, they were students who had the good sense to take adult advice. The rally was engineered by public relations man Marvin Liebman, described by Buckley as the leading anti-communist "impresario." He is executive secretary of the Committee of One Million Against the Recognition of Red China, and is public relations man for the China Lobby.

THE ADVISERS: Adult advisers, in addition to Buckley and Kohler, include Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, who is on the editorial committee of **American Opinion**, edited by Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society, and racist Rev. Carl T. McIntire (he called the Revised Version of the Bible "Jew-inspired").

YAF's bi-monthly newsletter announces all speaking engagements and radio and television appearances of conservative speakers, and meetings of reactionary organizations. It has called for support of a Loyalty Day parade in Massapequa, L.I.; an American Legion anti-communist rally at Floyd Bennett Post, Brooklyn; a "torch of freedom festival" sponsored by the Anti-Communist International, and a letter campaign to urge the Washington **Post** management not to drop conservative columnists Henry Hazlitt and Raymond Moley from its newly-acquired **Newsweek.**

ENTER BELA FABIAN: On its own, YAF has sponsored a showing of "Operation Abolition," the Un-American Activities Committee's doctored film of the San Francisco student demonstrations against the Committee. YAF has also organized innumerable picket lines to protest meetings of Youth to Abolish the HUAC, but their picket lines to date have been manned mainly by Hungarian refugees and anti-Castro Cubans.

The association of YAF with such groups as Bela Fabian's Assembly of Captive Nations and the anti-Castro Cuban "White Rose" society belies the contention of conservative publications that something respectable and dignified has been added to youthful political action. In Washington, capital police commended a Youth to Abolish HUAC demonstration for its orderly behavior in contrast to what they called the "belligerent" YAF-Anti-Communist International-anti-Castro counterdemonstration.

The meticulous grooming of the young conservatives seems to make them well-behaved in the minds of some observers. But behind the calm and reasonable exteriors of the standard-bearers is a rank-and-file of dirty in-fighters.

WELL-GROOMED SHOUTS: At their first public appearance last fall in New York some well-dressed YAFers attempted to break up a forum on peace, sponsored by the Advance youth organization, with the participation of youth from several countries and organizations including the American Friends Service Committee and Americans for Democratic Action. The group began shouting from the floor as the meeting opened. An attractive and attractively-dressed young woman temporarily disrupted the meeting as she shouted her way out of the hall.

The YAFers and other young conservatives distribute scurrilous leaflets as they picket. One handed out before a talk by Frank Wilkinson at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N.Y. called him a "convicted communist."

YAF is not likely to build for itself a reputation as part of the "lunatic fringe," however. It lays claim to well-bred intellectualism by its philosophical alignment with **National Review.** Its political program is closely akin to that of the respectable Sen. Goldwater who stands for everything to the right of Richard Nixon.

Goldwater, who toured the campuses last fall, maintains that older people are afraid to say they are conservatives, so conservatism is "coming back under the leadership of youth." YAF, Youth for Goldwater and conservative clubs on campuses are planning intensive local electoral campaigns in preparation for the Goldwater Presidential boom of 1964. YAF director Caddy named Goldwater as an acceptable spokesman, but added: "There is Sen. Dodd of Connecticut, a Democrat . . ."

REACTION TO LIBERALISM: Goldwater contends that those who are witnessing the failure of liberalism are turning to conservatism. Indeed, the young conservatives are a reaction to liberalism, but it is a reaction to the growth of progressive activity among young people. Comedian Mort Sahl has said that a conservative is one who believes that nothing should be done for the first time. Noting this, Peter Schrag in the **New Republic** (April 17) wrote:

"That applies to the campus. The Goldwater groups, the fans of [author] Ayn Rand did not appear until liberal organizations had been started. The students who are defending the House Un-American Activities Committee did not make a move until others had petitioned for its abolition. In each case the 'conservatives' were **responding** to the liberals."

NEW DEAL PARENTS: **Time** magazine (Feb. 10) said that the most startling part of the trend to "involvementism" is a sharp turn to the political right—against the conformity of New Deal parents. But a Harvard undergraduate writing in the February **Alumni Bulletin** took issue. He wrote:

"The obvious conclusion based on the evidence of the past two years would be the exact opposite of the conclusions reached by **Time.** There has been a marked liberal revival here . . . the positions are those taken by prominent liberals, in the common American definition of the term. It is these groups which have captured the imagination of the activist elements here. They have signed petitions, picketed, written letters to Congressmen, visited State Dept. officials, held mass demonstrations, sponsored lectures and seminars, and kept themselves on the front pages with almost monotonous regularity in recent months."

FOUND GENERATION: In the **Progressive** (March, 1961) Milton Mayer dubbed today's students the "found generation" which will not accept the "responsibility that offers them good jobs, a lifetime of futile letters to their Congressmen, and a constitutionality under which the HUAC is constitutional."

One wonders how many of the "found generation" would agree with the president of the University of Wisconsin's conservative club, Roger Claus, who was quoted in **Time** as saying:

"We should stop this neurotic brooding, brush the fallout off our lapels and stand up to the Russians in the great heritage of this country."

RALLY AND PICKET LINE MAY 19 IN WASHINGTON

Protest at CIA on Cuba

A TWO-WEEK demonstration against U.S. intervention in Cuba at CIA headquarters in Washington was to end May 13 with a mass picket line and rally. Demonstrators were to assemble at CIA Building, 2430 E St., N.Y., at 1 p.m. Information on special buses from New York may be obtained by calling OR 4-8295.

Members of the pacifist Nonviolent Committee for Cuban Independence began a fast and round-the-clock vigil at CIA headquarters on April 30. They were augmented by pickets (see right) organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on April 30 and May 7.

Seven of the pacifists, including Dave Dellinger, an editor of **Liberation** magazine, were arrested May 2 on charges of loitering and sentenced to ten days in jail. They continued their fast in jail until May 12 when they were to return to the vigil. While the group was away, ten others continued the demonstration.

On May 16 Richard Gibson, acting national exec. secy. of the Fair Play committee, was to appear before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. In an earlier hearing on April 25, Gibson had refused to cooperate and denounced U.S. intervention in Cuba. Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.), who presided at the hearing, ordered him to return with a list of the organization's members. Gibson said he would refuse to comply.

Gibson revealed that on April 28 the Immigration and Naturalization Service instructed U.S. and foreign airlines and steamship lines to refuse him passage.

Dodd said in Washington he wanted to determine if the Foreign Agents Registration Act needed revision to include registration of groups like the Fair Play committee.

Laos crisis eased

(Continued from Page 1)

find a plausible pretender. It did succeed in balking Premier Phouma's efforts for Laotian unity and in buying the support of an astonishing group of unsavory princelings and opportunists in generals' uniforms. To accomplish this, Washington spent more than $325,000,000 in Laos, none of which benefited the ordinary Laotian.

In South Vietnam, the U.S. propped up the rule of the ruthless President Ngo Dinh Diem and his family by spending more than a billion dollars, part of which went to form and equip a 150,000-man army.

The U.S. is reaping in Laos what it has sowed. The corrupt government it

Bastian, San Francisco Chronicle

supported failed to crush the Pathet Lao and became so unpopular that government paratroopers under Capt. Kong Le overthrew the regime and recalled Phouma. The Pathet Lao guerrillas, who had retired to their peasant-supported base in the north, agreed to resume efforts to form a neutral, coalition government with Phouma again as Premier.

Once again the U.S. intervened, and this time the rout of the forces it supported was ignominious. The best the U.S. can hope for now, as columnist Walter Lippman said May 4, "is that Prince Souvanna Phouma, whose fall we engineered, will return to power" as head of a neutral regime.

SOUTH VIETNAM: Outwardly strong, the Diem government in South Vietnam is rotten to the core. It has won elections—the sole U.S. criterion of democracy—by terrorizing and jailing its opponents, none of whom are radical by any stretch of the imagination. In an article in last month's **Atlas** (translated from the Paris **Le Figaro**, Feb. 9), Max Clos wrote that in Saigon day after day he heard: "The regime is leading us to disaster;" "it's fascism;" "everything is getting worse and worse."

Washington has accused North Vietnamese guerrillas of "infiltrating" across the border into South Vietnam and "terrorizing" the peasants, and gives this as a reason for possible U.S. military intervention. The truth is that guerrillas have mushroomed all over South Vietnam. Clandestine posters of a "National United Front" have appeared all over the country, calling for the liberation of South Vietnam from "U.S. slavery," the overthrow of the Diem family rule and peaceful reunification with North Vietnam. The Front is sponsored by trade unions, peasant and youth organizations.

"In South Vietnam," Lippmann said, "the government which we brought into power is in great peril. It holds the cities but it has all but lost control of the countryside to the Communist guerillas." Lippman asked: "Why is our friend and client, Ngo Dinh Diem, losing this civil war?" And he gave the answer: "Now the truth is, as so many correspondents have reported, that our man is extremely unpopular, his government being both reactionary and corrupt." Clos came to the same conclusion:

"Today, the South Vietnam rice granary is politically controlled by Vietminh (guerrillas). The Saigon government and its local representatives are cut off from any contact with the people. They possess only the outward trappings of power. To the bourgeoisie in Saigon no less than to the peasants, the regime appears as an instrument of oppression whose downfall everybody desires."

NOTHING LEARNED: The policy toward Laos and South Vietnam indicates that the Kennedy Administration has learned nothing from its ill-fated Cuban invasion. Kennedy has spoken of the need for "reform" in underdeveloped countries, but his concept of reform stops short of endangering the profits of United Fruit and Standard Oil companies.

In the case of the Cuban invasion, for instance, the U.S. chose from among the exiles the group that pledged to restore U.S. property taken over by the Castro government. Making the underdeveloped world safe for American companies and "containment" of the Soviet Union and China still remain as the two basic policies of Washington.

Obsessed by these policies, the U.S. has failed to note that countries it considers friendly are taking steps similar to those taken by Cuba and for the same reasons.

CEYLON NEXT? Ceylon's lower house, for instance, passed a bill on May 5 empowering the government to set up a state corporation for the import and distribution of petroleum products; to take over, with compensation, the installations of the American Standard Oil and California Texas Oil and the British Shell Oil companies; to fix minimum and maximum prices of gasoline; and to take action against foreign companies if they fail to keep Ceylon supplied with petroleum products in the share of the market allotted to them.

In reply to protests by the British and U.S. governments against some of the bill's provisions, T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade, Commerce, Food and Shipping said: "We have no doubt that these governments will understand the desire of the people of Ceylon to emancipate themselves from the economic bondage we have inherited from our colonial past." Ceylon was sending a team of officials to the Soviet Union and the Middle East next month to negotiate purchase and supply of petroleum products.

"Ceylon, in her efforts to combat the economic crisis on the island," the New York **Times** said (May 6), "appears to be drawing gradually closer to the Soviet Union. . . . Some Ceylonese feel that the West has taken advantage of them. Markets for the tea, rubber and cocoanut products are precarious. . . . Therefore, Soviet offers to supply machinery, other heavy equipment, petroleum products, sugar and other goods in exchange for tea, rubber and cocoanut oil have been warmly welcomed."

NO SURPRISE: Washington could not have been unaware of Ceylon's views, for Dhanapala Weerasekara, Ceylonese MP and a member of Premier Mrs. Sirimavo Banderanaike's ruling Freedom Party, spoke frankly to U.S. officials during a recent tour of this country.

Weerasekara noted that when Ceylonese officials asked the U.S. embassy for American financial assistance for rural roads which would open up country-wide commerce, the embassy, he said, "spoke of your Peace Corps and offered us personnel and advisers to build our own roads." He added :

"We don't need technicians; we've been building roads for at least 3,000 years. The technician doesn't solve the problem of labor."

In contrast, Weerasekara said, Canada had loaned Ceylon funds for building rural roads; the Soviet Union has financed the construction of a tire factory and Czechoslovakia has built a sugar processing plant. The factories were built on long term loans repayable through goods.

In stating why the U.S. has been under attack in Ceylon for its China policy, the Ceylonese MP exposed the weakness of Washington's policy in Southeast Asia: "We recognize Red China, and feel it is ridiculous to keep it out of the UN and recognize what is called Free China because I don't feel Free China is free. From the point of view of Asian countries your policy looks ridiculous."

Yuri the First?

RUSSIA HONORS Maj. Yuri Gagarin, the first man to conquer space, with a tribute of the kind paid only to czars. At a Kremlin palace reception he receives the Order of Lenin and is made a hero of the Soviet Union.

—Chicago **Tribune**, April 15

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FAREWELL MESSAGE FROM THE POWELL-SCHUMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

THE POWELL-SCHUMAN Defense Committee wishes to express its profound thanks and gratitude to the thousands of friends who gave financial support and encouragement to John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman in their long struggle against charges of sedition.

On May 2, 1961, the Department of Justice announced in San Francisco that it had dropped its five-year-old sedition charge against the Powells and Schuman.

Special credit goes to the counsel for their devotion and handling of the case. From the outset Doris Brin Walker, San Francisco attorney, carried the brunt of the defense and research. A. L. Wirin, well-known civil liberties attorney in Los Angeles, did an outstanding presentation of many pre-trial arguments and constitutional issues. Charles Garry, San Francisco attorney, made a major contribution in donating his time and talent in preparing for trial and acting as chief trial counsel. Adam Lapin and lawyers Benjamin Dreyfus and Laurent Frantz are among many others who worked devotedly on the case.

Many thanks are also in order to the hundreds who came forth to help with mailings, organize fund-raising benefits and arrange meetings to acquaint others with the issues involved in this freedom-of-the-press case.

It is all of you whom we congratulate for this important civil liberties victory.

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BOOKS

In praise of high treason

"THE SOUTH may have lost the war, but it's sure going to win the Centennial," says Karl Betts, executive director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission.

Now I haven't kept count, but it seems to me that more books are appearing today extolling Lee than praising Lincoln. Yet Lee was, beyond all doubt, guilty of treason.

Recently, Doubleday has seen fit to reprint another laudatory biography of Lee by his son, Robert E. Lee Jr., with an introduction by Philip Van Doren Stern.* This is Doubleday's—and Stern's—contribution to the current desecration of the centennial.

LEE'S SON relates this postwar incident about his father:

"In talking with Col. Carter about the situation of farmers in the South, he (Lee Sr.) urged him to get rid of the Negroes left on the farm—some ninety-odd in number, principally women and children—and advised him to secure white labor." Then General Lee remarked: "I have observed that wherever you find the Negro, everything is going down around him, and wherever you find the white man, you see everything around him improving."

Again, General Lee wrote to his son and biographer Robert in 1868: "You will never prosper with the blacks, and it is abhorrent to a reflecting mind to be supporting and cherishing those who are plotting and working for your injury, and all of whose sympathies and associations are antagonistic to yours. Our material, social, and political interests are naturally with the whites."

THE SON has in this book omitted everything which, in his thinking, might reflect adversely on his father. Yet he includes the above quotations. It is apparent that, in this period of colonial upheaval abroad and mass demonstrations and sit-ins to end jimcrow at home, neither the author, nor Stern, sees anything offensive to the Negro people, to thinking whites, or to the movement for equality in these views of General Lee.

The General despised not only Negroes, but Mexicans, American Indians, Japanese, and Chinese; we have it all from his own mouth. Nor did he follow Virginia out of the Union, as Stern states; he helped force Virginia out of the Union. Stern's own chronology of Lee gives April 20, 1861, as the date of Lee's resignation from the U.S. Army; April 23 as the date on which he accepted the post of commander of the armed forces of Virginia; and May 23 as the date on which Virginia seceded.

This is the man whom Stern considers "almost impossible to dislike."

—Elizabeth Lawson

MY FATHER, GENERAL LEE, by Captain Robert E. Lee Jr. Doubleday & Co. 453 pp. $5.95.

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Cuba's May Day

(Continued from Page 1)

worker-manager-leader discussions at every level. Cries of "No!" greeted his question as to whether the people were interested in the old type of elections.

Having taken power, Castro said, the working class was not concerned with the aspirations of the exploiting, privileged minority to regain power. The people were now practicing democracy in a direct form, and "the revolution has given them something more than a vote to each citizen—a gun to each one of the common people who wishes to join the militia . . . There is much work to do and the people cannot waste time."

Cuba's constitution of 1940, which the invaders claimed to carry on their banners, was good for its time—though never implemented—but "we say it is already out-of-date for us," Castro said. "We have to talk about a new constitution corresponding with the new system—a socialist constitution." Cuba had as much right to protest against a capitalist-imperialist system 90 miles from its shores as the U.S. had to protest against a socialist system 90 miles from theirs, but "it would not occur to us to protest since this is a question for the people of the U.S."

THE REAL THREAT: It was not Cuba's socialist system that threatened U.S. security, but the U.S.' own aggressive policies which could set off a world war. "Building our cooperatives, hospitals and schools, sending thousands of teachers into the interior to wipe out illiteracy, erecting factories to increase our productive capacity, turning barracks into schools and giving our people the right to a better future, we do not endanger the life and security of a single U.S. family. They know they lie when they say Cuba endangers their security; they know that what Cuba endangers is the security of the monopolies, because Cuba's example is contagious."

Conrad, Denver Post

A man's best friend is his Dulles . . .?

Cuba had declared its readiness for discussions, but the U.S. reply was that economic questions could be discussed but not "communism 90 miles away . . . Well, who had told them that we would agree to discuss in any way our internal affairs and social system? Where did they get the notion that we would discuss that? We are ourselves, not them. Questions relating to the social system which we choose to establish here—we are not prepared to let anyone so much as brush them with a rose petal."

Any further invasion, Fidel said, would be "a fight to the death": every Cuban's duty would be to kill invaders, and "not a single one should be taken prisoner." But he repeated his contention that the revolution should be generous with many of the prisoners of the last invasion. He gave further assurances to small business and small property-owners, and appealed to the minority who never understood and worked with the revolution to think again in light of recent events. "The revolution denies that it has to use force even against this minority—it prefers to use reason and persuasion." Quoting from his "History Will Absolve Me" speech before the Batista court, and from the Declaration of Havana, he said that now as then these expressed "the essence of our socialist revolution."

SUPER-COLOSSAL: Cuba's workers and peasants staged a 14½-hour-long super-colossal May Day parade through their capital. Country folk converged on Havana from all of western Cuba: someone estimated—and why not accept it?—that a million men, women and children were out on the streets around the Plaza Civica. In Santiago more than 300,000 more marched.

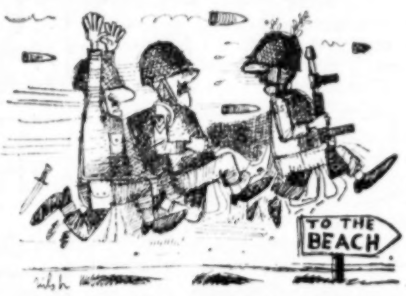
Almost everyone was bedecked with something red—skirts, shirts, parasols, little girls' dresses, the traditional **campesino's** neckerchief over proudly-worn work clothes. Bands played everything from the Marseillaise to intricate rumbas. With varying success, amateur choirs essayed a song that is new to most Cubans but soaring on the pop list since socialism was officially proclaimed: the Internationale.

To socialists from abroad, horny-souled from years of factional controversy and hair-splitting, it was as if the clock had turned back and socialism was re-emerging with the fresh dew on it. In hundreds of variants the banners proclaimed: "He who doesn't work doesn't earn," "Workers of the world, unite!", "Fidel, Khrushchev, we are with you both!"

Doctors and nurses, baseball players, government office employes, building workers with shovels, **campesinos** in sugarcane wagons hauled by tractors that tooted "Vence-re- **mos!**" with their horns—endlessly, with an intensifying rhythm of joy, they edged forward through the hot afternoon.

BIGGEST WELCOME: Many in the parade carried guns, and the greatest storm of welcome was reserved for the militias who fought in the Cienaga, who marched past together after nightfall. But it was essentially a May Day dedicated to peace—while keeping the powder dry. Almost every float included the motif of the anti-illiteracy campaign, and a host of "alphabetizers" marched as one body. "Alphabetizing to wipe out imperialist aggression," their slogans said—and quoted Marti: "An ignorant people can be deceived with superstitions and made servile."

By the time Castro began to speak long after dark, hundreds of people in the Plaza had fallen asleep on the ground from sheer exhaustion. But when he said he "would be as brief as possible" after the long day of rejoicing, shouts of protest rose on every hand. That's how these extraordinary people feel about Castro.



Nils Hammarstroem in Ny Dag, Stockholm

"The tourist posters told us Cuba is the land of surprises!"

Foreign Born group to hold conference in N.Y. May 20

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE for Protection of Foreign Born will hold a legislative conference on Saturday, May 20, 1 p.m., at District 65, 13 Astor Place, New York City. Ira Gollobin, attorney, will report on prospects for a statute of limitations on denaturalizations of the foreign born. Attorney Blanch Freedman will speak on H.R. 6, Congressman Walter's blueprint for civil liberties repression. Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers, will report on the Washington scene.

Bay Area readers form Committee to help Guardian

A GUARDIAN readers conference has organized an East Bay committee to get more readers for the paper in the San Francisco Bay Area. The new committee is called Supporters of National Guardian and is known by its initials—SONG.

Secretary of the new group is Lee Coe, 840 Delaware St., Berkeley 10, Calif., (TH 3-4382), a member of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. Mr. Coe has invited other GUARDIAN readers in the East Bay region to join SONG and support its projects.

First public meeting of the new committee will be held May 19 at United Nations Hall in the ILWU Bldg., 160 Grand Ave., Oakland. Speakers will be Robert and Valeda Randolph, recently returned from the Mexico Peace Conference and Cuba. Paul Heide, ILWU business agent, will be chairman.

IN MEMORIAM

IN TRIBUTE

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His Many Friends

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Robert & Valeda RANDOLPH

Recently returned from the Mexico Peace Conference and Cuba, will speak

FRI. EVE MAY 19

United Nations Hall
ILWU Warehouse Bldg., Loc. 6
160 Grand Ave., Oakland

Chairman: Paul Heide
Auspices: SONG
(Supporters of the National Guardian)

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Bernardo Garcia of Havana
Chairman: Paul Heide, Bus. Ag., ILWU
Auspices: SONG (Supporters of the National Guardian)

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Theodore Edwards, Soc. Workers Party
Fri., May 19,, 7:45 p.m.
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THE RACE IN SPACE
Competition & Conflict between the Soviet & Capitalist Systems. Lecture by **Arne Swabeck, Fri., May 19, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St.** Don. $1. Students & Unem. 50c. Ausp: **Militant Labor Forum.** Phones: AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

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DAVE DELLINGER—Editor, Liberation Chairman, Non-Violent Committee for Cuban Independence.
RICHARD GIBSON, National Executive Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.
8 p.m., Saturday, May 20
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DETROIT

CANDIDATES ROBERT HIMMEL FOR MAYOR & SARAH LOVELL FOR COMMON COUNCIL will speak on "Labor's Stake in the Detroit City Election" at a meeting sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum.
FRIDAY, MAY 19 8 p.m.
3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit

BOSTON

"A SOCIALIST LABOR PROGRAM"
Speaker:
Tom Kerry, Militant Labor Editor,
SAT., MAY 20, 8 P.M.
Boston Labor Forum
Room 200, 295 Huntington Ave.
Ausp: Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK

DR. LINUS PAULING
will report on the **OSLO CONFERENCE** of May 2-7 **"TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS"**
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7 YEARS LATER—Hear Atty. THOMAS RUSSELL JONES, NAACP LEADER discuss what has been done and what needs doing to implement Supreme Court School Desegregation Decision. **Fri., May 19,—8:30 p.m.**
1110 EASTERN PARKWAY, Bklyn.
Ausp: Daniel Lapidus Frat. Society

"PUERTO RICO, DEMOCRATIC SHOWCASE OR U.S. COLONY?" Speaker: Carlos Curras
Fri., May 12, 8:30 p.m.
116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.)
Don. 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

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WED., THURS., FRI., MAY 10, 11, 12 A new Russian film in color with Eng. titles. **THE WRESTLER & THE CLOWN,** plus **THE STORY OF THE BALALAIKA. WED., THURS., FRI., MAY 17, 18, 19** Return engagement by popular demand of the new Russian film,
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DR. HERBERT APTHEKER
speaks on
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
SUNDAY, MAY 21, 7:30 p.m.
1110 Eastern Parkway
Bklyn, N.Y.
Ausp: Crown Heights Forum Cont. 50c

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 8:30 p.m
Discussion by **STEVE NELSON** on the **"CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN & CUBA TODAY"** and **SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN, "LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION & THE JOB SITUATION."**
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Room 16E 853 Broadway, Academy Hall
Ausp: Student Council, N.Y. School for Marxist Studies, Rm. 1922, 853 Broadway.

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THE GALLERY

ON MARCH 12 JACKIE LEE FRANKLIN, editor of **Student Statesman,** published by the Crusade for God and Freedom, showed up at police headquarters in Los Angeles sporting two black eyes and a bruised nose. He said that "five or six" thugs had forced their way into his apartment, attacked him with "fists, clubs and feet" and screamed "Nazi" and "fascist" at him. He said the attack was because of his anti-communist editorials.

Franklin, 20, a student at El Camino College, appeared on radio and television shows to tell of the attack. Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, praised him publicly.

Suspicious detectives found discrepancies in Franklin's story. Under questioning he broke down and confessed it was a hoax. The wounds were self-inflicted. He said: "It was up to me to do anything I could to wake people up . . . to the communist menace."

A warrant for giving a false police report was issued against Franklin, but he left town before it could be served.

WHEN AIR RAID SIRENS wailed in Portland, Ore., on April 28—Civil Defense Day—key local officials sped to an underground operations center outside the city. But City Commissioner Stanley W. Earl stayed at his desk. He said: "This exercise is a complete waste of time, money and manpower." During the Korean War, Earl resigned as labor adviser to the State Dept. mission to South Korea and denounced the Rhee regime as corrupt and tyrannical . . . Gen. Gursel of Turkey said: "Our government is a very liberal government, but I hardly think it would run to permitting a Communist Party." . . . T. S. Griffiths said in the Gravesend and Dartford **Reporter** in England: "Most people are pleased with the new ferries, but I have heard a number of complaints. People have complained that although there are toilets on the ferries they are always locked, which is most inconvenient for passengers. Enquiries revealed that the reason the toilets were locked was to keep them clean." . . . A director of Vickers Armstrong, one of Britain's largest armaments manufacturers, is Rear Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard . . . For those who missed it, May 1 was designated as the beginning of Invest in America Week . . . A help-wanted ad in the New York **Times** (April 30) read: "Exec. Secy-Asst. to President. Long hours, hard work, low pay, demanding boss. . . ." . . . San Francisco Health Director Dr. Ellis Sox asked the Board of Supervisors for a grant to find out why the city has the highest suicide rate in the country. Mildred Holota, chief of the State Dept. of Public Health's statistics bureau, said the reasons usually attributed are: Attraction of the bridges; climate; and San Francisco is "the end of the continent."

Poland Magazine, Warsaw
"Mary says that she met him at a costume ball. But that was two months ago!"

A SOUTH LONDON newspaper last month reported that the town council could not find the owner of an unoccupied house in Marmountroad, Peckham, and it suggested that the first person to occupy it might be able to stay there on "squatter's rights." The first to get there was Mrs. Florence Clements and her three-year-old daughter. Mrs. Clements found the front door open and moved in. A long line of "squatters" waited outside while she made herself at home.

A professional wrestler, Patrick O'Donovan, pushed passed the line and through the front door and took a hold on one of the two upstairs bedrooms. The waiting "squatters" raised a fuss and eventually police arrived to put out Mrs. Clements and O'Donovan.

Mrs. Clements was taken to the hospital for treatment of minor bruises. She wept to reporters and said: "I thought this was the answer to all my prayers. I was trying to make it a clean home for my daughter and myself, when in through the front door came this Irishman.

"Now it seems the police want us to leave until the council have sorted it all out."

O'Donovan's injuries kept him in the hospital overnight. He explained: "I moved in with my bed because I do not want to live any longer with my sister."

—Robert E. Light

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CISCO HOUSTON LIVED ALL OF HIS SONGS. Cisco Houston who died April 28, picked potatoes, worked in factories, and was torpedoed on the way to Murmansk and Cherbourg during the war. He knew the people of America and to them he sang. His memorial is in his music

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Pablo Neruda in Cuba

In his recently published book on Cuba, Ninety Miles from Home (Little, Brown, $3.95), novelist Warren Miller describes, how 2,000 persons in the Casa Las Americas in Havana stood up to honor the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda who had come to read his work for them. Among the poems was a new one called "The Ship," which is printed in its entirety below.

The Ship

But we have already paid our fares in this world,
why, then, don't you let us sit and eat?

We want to look at the clouds,
we want to bathe in the sun and smell the salt air;
honestly, you can't say we're molesting others,
it's very simple: we are passengers.

We are all traveling through and time goes with us:

the sea goes by, the rose says goodbye,
the earth passes under shadow and under light,
and you and we pass by too, passengers all.

What bothers you then?
Why are you all so angry?
Whom are you looking for with that revolver?

We didn't know
that everything is taken,
the cups, the seats,
the beds, the mirrors,
the sea, the wine, the sky.

Now we're told
that there's no table for us.
It cannot be, we think.
You cannot convince us.
It was dark when we arrived at this ship.
We were naked.
We all came from the same place,
we all came from woman and man.
We all knew hunger and then grew teeth.
We grew hands to work with
and eyes to want what exists.

And you tell us that we cannot,
that there's no room on board;
you don't want to say hello,
you don't want to play with us.

Why so many advantages for you?
Who gave you that spoon before you were born?
You are not happy here,
things cannot go well this way.

I don't like to travel like this,
to find sadness in hidden corners
and eyes without love or mouths that hunger.

There are no clothes for this gathering autumn
and less, less, less for the next winter.
And without shoes how we can we take a turn
around the world, with so many stones on the paths?

Without a table where are we going to eat,
where shall we sit if there are no chairs?
If it's an unfunny joke, decide gentlemen,
to end it quickly,
to talk seriously now.

Afterwards the sea is hard.
And it rains blood.

—**Pablo Neruda**

Just off Cathedral Square in the old part of Havana is La Bodeguita del Medio, the Little Grocery Store in the Middle of the Block. Here Miller heard the folk artist Carlos Puebla sing ballads of the Revolution, such as the following:

For those who don't listen to advice

For those who don't listen to advice
won't live a long life,
ay won't live a long life.

We've repeated it a thousand times
that those who invade will stay . . .
Let them think it over while they can,
not after they've made their play.

Those who take the gamble,
now you know what to expect:
anyone can come here,
but what's hard is to get away.
Don't complain later
about the step you're going to take,
for each one of you knows
what's right and what's wrong.

You've been warned,
think it over.
Don't come around later
saying you were fooled.

Better stay where you are
and listen to this advice:
If you want to live a long life
remember this refrain:

Those who don't listen to advice
won't live a long life,
ay, won't live a long life.

—**Carlos Puebla**